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German Reunification and A Summit Conference

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RESEARCH STAFF
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE
AMERICAN EMBASSY GERMANY

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INTRODUCTION

The prospects for a Summit Conference appeared quite bright during March 1958; at least there was considerable West German speculation at that time concerning such a meeting. In view of the assumed importance of German reunification in German political thinking as well as its role in general world tensions, an attempt was made to obtain popular reactions to this problem as it might affect a possible Summit Conference.

The data for the results included in this report were obtained from two separate probability samples of the West German adult population (18 years of age and older). Most of the questions were put to the group of 876 cases, while in one instance data are presented from a second sample of 913 cases. Interviewing for both samples occurred during the period March 14 to 30, 1958, and was carried out by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg.

SUMMARY

The West German population is as likely to urge their government to enter into direct negotiations with the Russians over reunification as they are to urge that they keep approaching the Western allies to do something.

A smaller majority now says that the Western Powers should insist on negotiating only with the freely elected representatives of the East Zone on reunification.

The chances for reunification, however, are judged to be the worst in years.

The desire for a Summit Conference is evidently so strong that only one out of five would want the West to reject such a conference if the German Question were not on the agenda; and if it were, only one out of seven wants the Federal Republic to refuse to participate if it means equal status for the GDR.

While reunification is most often selected (from a list of possible agenda items) as the one of most interest to them, and the one on which it is most essential to have an agreement, it is seldom selected as a likely result. Disarmament, which is second as far as interest and importance, is rated as one of the most likely topics for an agreement. Control of outer space, hardly ever mentioned as of interest or importance, is the leading selection for agreement.

Those individuals who named reunification as of most interest to them do not consistently name it as the most important topic, or the one on which agreement might be expected. In fact, there appears to be no relationship between interest, importance, and likelihood of agreement for any of the topics.

Population groups apparently most interested in reunification are: Men, those under 35 years of age, adherents of the CDU and the FDP, former refugees and expellees, and those living in Lower Saxony.

Groups apparently most interested in disarmament are: Higher income groups, older people, SPD adherents, and those living in Baden/Wuerttemberg.

A majority of the population would call a conference worthwhile if there were some kind of agreement on disarmament while nothing was accomplished on the reunification issue.

DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND URGING THE WEST TO DO SOMETHING, EQUALLY POPULAR AS COURSES FEDERAL REPUBLIC SHOULD PURSUE ...

The West German population is as likely to urge the government to enter into direct negotiations with the Russians over reunification (29%) as they are to urge that they keep approaching the Western allies to do something about reunification (31%).

The other alternatives from which they were asked to choose - await developments and make no move for the time being, or negotiate directly with the East Zone government - were not particularly popular. Only about one person out of ten selected each of these two possibilities (8% for the first and 10% for the second).

"Which one of the following courses concerning reunification would you most like to see the Federal Republic pursue?"

	West Germany
	Mar 58 (876)
Federal Republic should await political developments and not make any move for the time being	8%
Federal Republic should urge the Western allies again and again to do something about reunification	31
Federal Republic should negotiate directly with Russians about reunification	29
Federal Republic should negotiate directly with the East Zone government about reunification	10
No opinion	22
	100%

DECREASED MAJORITY WOULD WANT WESTERN POWERS TO INSIST ON DEALING WITH FREELY ELECTED DELEGATES FROM THE SOVIET ZONE ...

While a majority of the population (59%) would prefer that the Western Powers insist on negotiating only with freely elected representatives from the East Zone on the subject of reunification, this percentage is considerably lower than the results to the same question asked in 1953. At that time approximately seven out of ten (68% in July and 73% in December) wanted the West to so insist.

Current willingness to have the present leaders of the East Zone represent that area at reunification negotiations is not appreciably higher than it was earlier (13% now as compared with 8% to 9% in 1953).

The difference in shift of opinion appears to be based upon the fluctuations between insistence upon freely elected delegates and uncertainty on the issue, i.e. "no opinion" on the question. Where the percentage in favor of insistence on freely elected delegates goes down, the percentage with "no opinion" goes up.

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations on a reunification of Germany with the Big Four

or

should the Western Powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"

	West Germany		
	Jul 53 (625)	Dec 53 (601)	Mar 58 (913)
Present leaders of East Zone government	8%	9%	13%
Freely elected delegation of the people	68	73	59
No opinion	24	18	28
	100%	100%	100%

CHANCES FOR REUNIFICATION JUDGED TO BE THE WORST IN YEARS ...

The following question asking for popular judgment as to the chances for a reunification of Germany at the present time has been asked since 1951. While the percentages saying that the chances are "good" (or "very good") have fluctuated, there has never been less than a quarter or more than a half of the population optimistically inclined.

Now for the first time, significantly less than one-quarter (16%) say that the chances for a reunification are good. The degree of pessimism expressed (by those calling the chances "bad" or "very bad") equals the previous low recorded in October 1951 when four out of ten (41%) were so inclined.

By adding together the percentages of those saying the chances were "good" or "very good", and subtracting from that sum the total of those calling the chances "bad" or "very bad", we are able to derive a measure of net opinion on the subject. These indices of net opinion are useful indicators of the extent and direction of expectations on the chances of achieving reunification. They are presented for each of the time points. They also make it clear that the March 1958 results reflect the lowest level of expectation ever recorded. (Net opinion score of -25, as against the previous low of -15 in October 1951.)

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad? (IF 'Good': Very good or good?) (IF 'Bad': Bad or very bad?)"

West Germany

	Oct 51 (1201)	Apr 53 (764)	Jun 53 (761)	Jul 53 (625)	Dec 53 (601)	Jan 54 (324)	Mar 55 (843)	Sep 55 (797)	Mar 58 (876)
Very good	2%	6%	6%	6%	7%	9%	3%	3%	2%
Good	24	27	27	35	25	41	24	23	14
Fair	13	21	22	23	24	21	17	38	27
Bad	31	29	25	20	25	17	27	18	33
Very bad	10	5	5	3	6	2	8	3	8
No opinion	20	12	15	13	13	10	21	15	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
NET OPINION	-15	- 1	+ 3	+18	+ 1	+31	- 8	+ 5	-25

Part II - The Summit Conference

Section A: The Desire for One

IF REUNIFICATION NOT ON AGENDA - ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE WOULD REJECT CONFERENCE ...

Reunification, at least to the Germans, is supposed to be the most pressing problem of the world. It was considered of great interest, therefore, to determine what their reaction would be to a possible Summit Conference which might not include the German Question on the agenda. Such a consideration is not without foundation in view of Russian refusal to discuss the matter.*

Faced with this possibility, fewer than one out of five (18%) would then want the Western Powers to reject such a meeting! Over half (57%) either said that they did not want the West to turn down such a meeting, or confessed that it was all the same to them. To this majority might well be added the remaining quarter (25%) of the population who did not have an opinion on the question. If they did not have enough feeling on the subject to register their opinion one way or the other, then it can be assumed that they would not object to having a Summit Conference without the German Question on the agenda.

"As you probably know, there has been a lot of discussion lately about a new Summit Conference.

a. If the German Question should not be on the agenda, would you want the Western Powers to reject such a meeting or not?"

	West Germany
	Mar 58 (876)
Yes, reject	18%
No, not reject	45
All the same to me	12
No opinion	25
	100%

* This survey was carried out before Chancellor Adenauer's London statement (repeated to Hearst Jr.) that he would not wish to see Germany the cause of wrecking a Summit Conference before it starts; and also preceded the visit of Deputy Premier Mikoyan to Bonn during which he again restated Russian refusal to discuss German reunification at a Summit Conference.

IF REUNIFICATION ON AGENDA - ONLY ONE OUT OF SEVEN WOULD WANT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO SPURN THE CONFERENCE IF THE GDR HAD EQUAL STATUS ...

As we have seen in Part I, the majority would like the Western Powers to insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed through free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany. Yet when it comes to a question of what the Federal Republic should do if faced with the GDR at a Summit Conference, only one person out of seven (14%) would want the Federal Republic to spurn the meeting.

A majority (50%) said that the government should still participate even if there were equal participation for the GDR, while another tenth (12%) said that it made no difference to them, and another quarter (as in the previous question) did not have any opinion (24%).

The picture is thus clearly presented of what the West Germans would like to have the Western Powers do* as distinguished from what they would want their own government to do when faced with a concrete situation. Since the two questions were asked of two separate samples of the West German population, it is not possible to present a cross-tabulation of opinion on these two related questions.

"As you probably know, there has been a lot of discussion lately about a new Summit Conference.

b. If the German Question were on the agenda, would you want the Federal Republic to participate if this meant equal participation for the East Zone, or should they then not participate?"

	West Germany
	Mar 58 (876)
Yes, participate	50%
No, not participate	14
All the same to me	12
No opinion	24
	100%

* i.e. what they want the West to do concerning East Zone leaders as representatives at a meeting over reunification.

EVEN THOSE WHO WOULD WANT WEST TO REJECT CONFERENCE OVER GERMAN QUESTION, WANT FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO SIT DOWN WITH GDR IF REUNIFICATION ON AGENDA ...

The willingness that West Germans exhibit for their government to sit down with the GDR at a possible Summit Conference and discuss reunification is brought out even more forcefully in a cross-tabulation of the responses between what they want the Western Powers to do if German reunification is not on the agenda, and what they want their own government to do about talking with the GDR if it should be on the agenda.

Cross-tabulation of the replies to these two questions shows that 1) not only does a strong majority (73%) of those who would still want the Western Powers to attend a meeting even if the German Question were omitted want the Federal Republic to sit down with the GDR - but 2) almost as many (63%) of those who had said that they would want the West to spurn the meeting would want the Federal Republic to accept the GDR as an equal participant if the question were to be discussed.

"As you probably know, there has been a lot of discussion lately about a new Summit Conference.

a. If the German Question should not be on the agenda, would you want the Western Powers to reject such a meeting or not?"

	Yes, reject (160)	No, not reject (396)	All the same to me (105)	No opinion (215)
b. If the German Question were on the agenda, would you want the Federal Republic to participate if this meant equal participation for the East Zone, or should they then not participate?"				
Yes, participate	63%	73%	22%	11%
No, not participate	27	18	6	1
All the same to me	6	5	61	7
No opinion	4	4	11	81
	100%	100%	100%	100%

NOTE: Since the question itself was necessarily inexact as to the official level of participation, no inference should be drawn concerning West German willingness to "recognize" Pankow. It does, however, indicate that the spell of "willingness to talk" is strong enough so that when the legal implications of the action are not clearly spelled out, there is little hesitation to go ahead and do something.

Section B: Possible Agenda Items

REUNIFICATION CALLED MOST INTERESTING, MOST IMPORTANT, YET NOT SELECTED AS MOST LIKELY RESULT OF CONFERENCE ...

A list of eight topics which could conceivably be on the agenda of a Summit Conference, should one be held, were presented to all respondents. They were then instructed to designate a) the one in which they had the most interest; b) the one on which they felt it most important that an agreement be reached; and c) the one on which an agreement was most likely to be reached.

The table below shows the answers to these three related questions. Reunification, which was named by four out of ten (41%) as the topic of most interest to them, was named by three out of ten (30%) as the one on which it was most important that an agreement be reached, and by less than one out of ten (8%) as a topic on which they felt it likely that an agreement would actually be reached. While the last result might be considered a realistic appraisal of their chances (see popular opinion as to the chances for reunification at this time, on page 3), it might be viewed as somewhat surprising that not more than four-tenths designated reunification as the subject in which they personally had the most interest. Of further interest is the fact that this figure (41%) drops by ten percentage points (to 30%) when they have to name the topic on which it is most important for the conference to reach an agreement.

Disarmament is the topic which is in second place as far as interest (24%) and importance (20%) is concerned, and which is rated one of the most likely upon which an agreement will be reached (13%).

Reactions to the possible discussion of the control of outer space are also interesting. Hardly mentioned as a topic in which they have any interest (*%), or as one which is important (1%), it is a leading one upon which agreement is expected (15%).

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?
b. On which one is it most essential to have an agreement?
c. On which one do you think an agreement will most likely be reached?"

	West Germany		
	Most interest	Most essential	Most likely
Disarmament	24%	20%	13%
Creation of a Neutral Zone	2	2	11
Creation of an atom-free Zone	2	5	8
German Peace Treaty without reunification	4	4	7
German reunification	41	30	8
Suspension of atom-bomb tests	10	15	13
Suspension of production of atomic weapons	10	15	9
Control of outer space	*	1	15
No opinion	7	8	16
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THOSE WHO CALL AGREEMENT ON REUNIFICATION MOST LIKELY ARE NOT PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO CLAIM THE MOST INTEREST IN IT ...

An interesting picture emerges when we compare the answers of those people who said they were most interested in German reunification (when answering the first part of the question) according to what they said was most likely to be agreed upon at a possible conference (the third part of the question).

That 41 per cent of the West German population which claimed to be most interested in the topic of German reunification as an agenda item for a Summit Conference, split all over the range of topics when it came to selecting the one on which they thought an agreement was most likely. As a result, only 3 per cent of the population, out of the original 41 per cent, are left. It should be remembered that on the original question a total of 8 per cent said that they thought reunification was the topic upon which agreement was most likely - thus it can be noticed that most of those who finally chose reunification as the most likely topic for agreement did not come from those who originally said that they had the most interest in it.

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?"

	German Reunification Selected
c. On which one do you think an agreement will most likely be reached?"	
Disarmament	7%
Creation of a Neutral Zone	5
Creation of an atom-free Zone	3
German Peace Treaty without reunification	2
German reunification	3
Suspension of atom-bomb tests	5
Suspension of production of atomic weapons	4
Control of outer space	7
No opinion	5
	41%

It is most important to obtain a correct impression of the importance of the role of German reunification in German thinking. The table above showed that those who selected reunification as the topic on which they thought an agreement was most likely were not exclusively composed of those who had selected that topic as the one in which they had the most interest. The following table delineates the manner in which the replies of those who initially said they were interested in reunification fluctuated when it came to selecting the topic on which it was most important to reach agreement, and then what these who still insisted on reunification said when asked for the topic on which they thought agreement was easiest.

Although 41 per cent of the population initially selected reunification as the topic in which they had the most interest, only one-quarter of that group (11% of the population) called reunification the topic on which it was most important to reach agreement. Following this 11 per cent through on the next question concerning the topic on which they thought an agreement was the most likely, only one-fifth of that group (those who had still called reunification the most important topic) thought that it would be the one which an agreement was most likely to be reached (2%).

Distribution of Responses of Those
Calling Reunification of Most Interest to Them

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?
b. On which one is it most essential to have an agreement?
c. On which one do you think an agreement will most likely be reached?"

	Most Interest	Most Important	Most Likely
Disarmament		10%	2%
Neutral Zone		1	2
A-Free Zone		2	1
Peace Treaty		*	*
Reunification	41%	11	2
A-Test Suspension		7	*
A-Production Suspension		8	1
Control Outer Space		1	1
No opinion		1	2
		41%	11%

* Less than one half of oen per cent.

Reversing the procedure employed above, where we showed how people who originally called reunification the most important topic later reacted when asked to say what was the most important and the most likely topic for an agreement, we derive the following fan-like table. The new table reflects the makeup of that 30 per cent of the population which called reunification the most important topic, and of that 8 per cent which selected it as the one on which they felt an agreement was most likely to be reached. In this table we can again see the heterogeneous makeup behind each percentage.

Previous Replies of Those Calling Reunification
the Most Important Topic, and the One Most Likely to be Agreed Upon

	Most Interest		Most Important		Most Likely
Disarmament	8%		1%		
Neutral Zone	1		*		
A-Free Zone	1		1		
Peace Treaty	1		*		
Reunification	11	→	30%	3	→ 8% @
A-Test Suspension	4			1	
A-Production Suspension	4			1	
Control Outer Space	-			-	

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Actually totals 8 per cent due to cumulative fractions each of which is less than .5%

NO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTEREST, IMPORTANCE, AND LIKELIHOOD OF AGREEMENT ...

The absence of a clear-cut relationship between "interest", "importance", and "likelihood of agreement" is one of the most revealing findings to be noted in the data.

The following table, cross-tabulating replies concerning the topic in which people have the most interest with the one on which they feel it is most important that an agreement be reached, shows that regardless of the topic initially selected as of most interest to them usually no more than a quarter then select that same topic as the most important one. For example. not only among those calling reunification of most interest did approximately one-fourth also select it as the most important topic, but among those interested in suspension of atomic tests 25 per cent call it most important. Even among those most interested in disarmament, only 22 per cent call it the most important topic for an agreement.

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?"

b. "On which one is it most essential to have an agreement?"	Disarmament (204)	Neutral Zone (15)	A-Free Zone (21)	Peace Treaty (31)	Reunification (358)	A-Test Suspension (88)	A-Production Suspension (89)	Control Outer Space (1)	No opinion (69)
Disarmament	22%	20%	14%	26%	24%	16%	17%	100%	4%
Neutral Zone	4	-	5	3	3	1	-	-	1
A-Free Zone	9	7	-	10	5	1	2	-	-
Peace Treaty	8	7	5	6	1	1	9	-	-
Reunification	35	26	43	33	28	36	36	-	9
A-Test Suspension	12	20	19	6	18	25	13	-	3
A-Production Suspension	9	13	14	13	18	18	23	-	-
Control Outer Space	*	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
No opinion	1	7	-	3	2	1	-	-	83
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

REUNIFICATION NAMED MORE OFTEN AS MOST INTERESTING TOPIC -
BY MEN
BY THOSE UNDER 35
BY CDU, FDP ADHERENTS
BY EXPELLEES
IN LOWER SAXONY ...

DISARMAMENT MORE LIKELY TO BE NAMED -
BY HIGHER INCOME GROUPS
BY OLDER PEOPLE
BY SPD ADHERENTS
IN BADEN/WUERTTEMBERG ...

The detailed statistics of the replies concerning which topic each segment of the population considered of the most interest to them would take up entirely too many pages of figures. However, since the greatest West German interest as well as our own is in the two fields of reunification and disarmament, the data for these two topics alone will be incorporated into the report at this point.

With very few exceptions, less than a majority of the respondents in each of the sub-groups actually selected reunification as the topic of greatest interest to them; and where that occurred, the size of the group in most cases makes the statistical reliability of the percentages suspect. Attention, therefore, should only be paid to the relative difference between groups in the incidence of selecting reunification (and later of disarmament).

Men were considerably more prone to name reunification than were women (48% as against 36%); yet when it came to disarmament there is no difference.

People with incomes under DM 300 per month do not seem to be as much concerned with the subject of disarmament, as are those with better incomes. The latter, by their replies seem to indicate their awareness of who has to pay the cost of armaments.

Age would appear to play a role in interest in the two fields of reunification and disarmament. Those under 35 are more concerned with the former, while those over 35 are more likely to be interested in the latter.

A similar dichotomy can be found according to political party preferences. More CDU and FDP members picked reunification than did members of the SPD (46% and 53% as against 32%), while the reverse is true when the subject is disarmament (20% and 25% versus 30%).

That portion of the West German population which can be classed as former expellees or refugees is considerably more interested in German reunification (59%) than those who have always lived in West Germany (36%). The natives, on the other hand, are more likely than the others to be interested in disarmament (26% versus 14%).

Interest in reunification is found to be highest in Lower Saxony (55%) and lowest in Bavaria and in Baden/Wuerttemberg (32% and 33%). Disarmament is of most interest in this same Baden/Wuerttemberg (31%) and lowest in Lower Saxony and Hesse (14% and 15%).

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?"

German Reunification

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
West Germany	41%	59%...100%	876
Sex:			
Men	48	52	358
Women	36	64	518
Education:			
Elementary school	40	60	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	47	53	127
Diploma/university	44	56	27
Income:			
Up to 149 DM	37	63	32
150 to 299 DM	44	56	103
300 to 399 DM	37	63	145
400 to 499 DM	50	50	140
500 DM and more	43	57	303
No answer	32	68	153
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper middle and well-to-do	42	58	120
Lower middle	41	59	532
Poor	40	60	224
Age:			
Up to 24 years	48	52	110
25 to 34 years	48	52	164
35 to 44 years	39	61	167
45 to 54 years	42	58	194
55 years and over	33	67	241
Party Preference:			
SPD	32	68	212
CDU/CSU	46	54	308
FDP	53	47	36
Other parties	54	46	28
No party	38	62	142
No opinion	41	59	150
Occupation:			
Professionals	50	50	14
Businessmen	43	57	53
White-collar workers	53	47	133
Skilled laborers	45	55	108
Semi-skilled laborers	46	54	95
Farmers; farmhands	33	67	39
Housewives	34	66	339
Pensioners; retired	39	61	76
Students; apprentices	42	58	19
Origin:			
Natives	36	64	696
Expellees; refugees	59	41	180

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
Religion:			
Catholics	36%	64%...100%	400
Protestants	45	55	453
Others	9	91	11
No religion	67	33	12
City Size:			
Up to 1,999	42	58	226
2,000 to 19,999	46	54	268
20,000 to 99,999	40	60	136
100,000 and over	35	65	246
Land:			
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	45	55	77
Lower Saxony	55	45	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	42	58	266
Hesse	46	54	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	39	61	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	33	67	122
Bavaria	32	68	160

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

a. In which one do you have the most interest?"

Disarmament

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
West Germany	24%	76%...100%	876
Sex:			
Men	23	77	358
Women	24	76	518
Education:			
Elementary school	23	77	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	24	76	127
Diploma/university	26	74	27
Income:			
Up to 149 DM	12	88	32
150 to 299 DM	18	82	103
300 to 399 DM	23	77	145
400 to 499 DM	21	79	140
500 DM and more	27	73	303
No answer	23	77	153
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper middle and well-to-do	31	69	120
Lower middle	22	78	532
Poor	23	77	224
Age:			
Up to 24 years	16	84	110
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45 to 54 years	28	72	194
55 years and over	25	75	241
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Other parties	14	86	28
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Occupation:			
Professionals	14	86	14
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White-collar workers	22	78	133
Skilled laborers	22	78	108
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Farmers; farmhands	20	80	39
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Students; apprentices	26	74	19
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Others	55	45	11
No religion	17	83	12
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Up to 1,999	22	78	226
2,000 to 19,999	19	81	268
20,000 to 99,999	27	73	136
100,000 and over	27	73	246
Land:			
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	21	79	77
Lower Saxony	14	86	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	73	266
Hesse	15	85	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	27	73	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	31	69	122
Bavaria	22	78	160

Section C: Possible Results

MAJORITY WOULD CALL CONFERENCE WORTHWHILE IF DISARMAMENT BUT NOT REUNIFICATION ACHIEVED ...

Perhaps because the expectations concerning the possibility of achieving reunification are so low at the present time, a majority (60%) of the West German population would call a Summit Conference worthwhile if it would result in some sort of an agreement on disarmament, without making any progress on the reunification issue.

Most of that fifth of the population (22%) which would not view such a result as worthwhile, are not particularly vehement about it, i.e. they felt it would be "not particularly worthwhile" rather than "not at all worthwhile".

"Would you be likely to consider such a conference worthwhile if a disarmament agreement of some type were reached while no progress was made toward reunification? (IF 'Worthwhile': Very or somewhat?) (IF 'Not worthwhile': Not particularly or not at all?)"

	West Germany Mar 58 (876)	
Yes - very worthwhile	30%	60%
- somewhat worthwhile	30	
No - not particularly	16	22
- not at all	6	
Don't know	18	
	100%	

A P P E N D I X

(Additional Tables)

"Which one of the following courses concerning reunification would you most like to see the Federal Republic pursue?"

	Federal Republic should ...					
	await political developments and not make any move for the time being	urge the Western allies again and again to do something about reunification	negotiate directly with Russians about reunification	negotiate directly with the East Zone government about reunification	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany	8%	31%	29%	10%	22%...100%	876
Sex:						
Men	8	38	33	12	9	358
Women	7	27	26	9	31	518
Education:						
Elementary school	7	29	30	10	24	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	9	40	26	12	13	127
Diploma/university	7	41	41	7	4	27
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	9	13	6	16	56	32
150 to 299 DM	8	30	28	9	25	103
300 to 399 DM	8	30	34	10	18	145
400 to 499 DM	6	36	25	14	19	140
500 DM and over	7	33	32	11	17	303
No answer	9	29	29	6	27	153
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper middle and well-to-do	8	39	36	8	9	120
Lower middle	8	32	29	10	21	532
Poor	8	26	25	12	29	224
Age:						
Up to 24 years	9	30	30	11	20	110
25 to 34 years	6	30	35	13	16	164
35 to 44 years	6	29	34	12	19	167
45 to 54 years	10	30	29	12	19	194
55 years and over	7	36	22	5	30	241
Party Preference:						
SPD	9	24	36	18	13	212
CDU/CSU	8	36	27	8	21	308
FDP	3	36	47	6	8	36
Other parties	4	53	18	4	21	28
No party	10	29	27	11	23	142
No opinion	5	29	23	6	37	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	7	50	29	14	-	14
Businessmen	6	38	34	7	15	53
White-collar workers	9	32	35	14	10	133
Skilled laborers	6	32	39	16	7	108
Semi-skilled laborers	6	33	36	10	15	95
Farmers; farmhands	10	28	28	3	31	39
Housewives	7	26	26	8	33	339
Pensioners; retired	9	45	9	9	28	76
Students; apprentices	11	42	21	16	10	19
Origin:						
Natives	8	30	29	10	23	696
Expellees; refugees	8	35	28	12	17	180

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	Federal Republic should ...					
	await political developments and not make any moves for the time being	urge the Western allies again and again to do something about reunification	negotiate directly with Russians about reunification	negotiate directly with the East Zone government about reunification	No opinion	No. of cases
Religion:						
Catholics	8%	30%	28%	10%	24%...100%	400
Protestants	7	33	30	10	20	453
Others	18	18	9	27	28	11
No religion	8	25	42	25	-	12
City Size:						
Up to 1,999	8	33	27	7	25	226
2,000 to 19,999	8	29	30	13	20	268
20,000 to 99,999	7	31	29	10	23	136
100,000 and over	7	33	31	10	19	246
Land:						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	8	34	32	14	12	77
Lower Saxony	10	29	30	11	20	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	6	31	30	12	21	266
Hesse	4	35	24	12	25	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	9	22	35	7	27	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	3	37	30	7	23	122
Bavaria	14	29	25	8	24	160

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations

or

should the Western Powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"

	Present leaders of East Zone government	Freely elected delegation of the people	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany	13%	59%	28%...100%	913
Sex:				
Men	14	73	13	396
Women	12	49	39	517
Education:				
Elementary school	14	57	29	764
Secondary school w/o diploma	9	75	16	122
Diploma/university	15	63	22	27
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	13	46	41	39
150 to 299 DM	11	52	37	132
300 to 399 DM	14	58	28	149
400 to 499 DM	15	58	27	142
500 DM and more	13	69	18	313
No answer	13	51	36	138
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper middle and well-to-do	9	68	23	134
Lower middle	14	59	27	504
Poor	13	56	31	275
Age:				
Up to 24 years	10	67	23	108
25 to 34 years	16	60	24	158
35 to 44 years	19	60	21	168
45 to 54 years	11	56	33	196
55 years and over	10	58	32	283
Party Preference:				
SPD	16	61	23	217
CDU/CSU	12	65	23	329
FDP	12	69	19	26
Other parties	13	67	20	30
No party	16	59	25	152
No opinion	8	43	49	159
Occupation:				
Professionals	12	50	38	8
Businessmen	23	64	13	48
White-collar workers	10	68	22	110
Skilled laborers	17	73	10	120
Semi-skilled laborers	15	57	28	96
Farmers; farmhands	12	68	20	49
Housewives	11	52	37	362
Pensioners; retired	15	57	28	102
Students; apprentices	6	61	33	18
Origin:				
Natives	14	58	28	721
Expellees; refugees	11	65	24	192

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	Present leaders of East Zone government	Freely elected delegation of the people	No opinion	No. of cases
Religion:				
Catholics	13%	56%	31%...100%	381
Protestants	13	62	25	495
Others	18	55	27	22
No religion	13	74	13	15
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	10	58	32	225
2,000 to 19,999	13	54	33	268
20,000 to 99,999	17	58	25	149
100,000 and over	13	67	20	271
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	7	62	31	83
Lower Saxony	16	50	34	131
North Rhine/Westphalia	12	64	24	283
Hesse	12	76	12	76
Rhineland/Palatinate	16	50	34	64
Baden/Wuerttemberg	20	54	26	116
Bavaria	9	58	33	160

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad? (IF 'Good': Very good or good?) (IF 'Bad': Bad or very bad?)"

	Very good/ Good	Fair	Bad/ Very bad	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany	16%	27%	41%	16%...100%	876
Sex:					
Men	19	27	49	5	358
Women	15	27	34	24	518
Education:					
Elementary school	16	27	39	18	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	22	23	46	9	127
Diploma/university	4	30	62	4	27
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	9	25	13	53	32
150 to 299 DM	16	30	38	16	103
300 to 399 DM	19	29	41	11	145
400 to 499 DM	18	29	41	12	140
500 DM and more	16	25	46	13	303
No answer	14	25	37	24	153
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper middle and well-to-do	18	24	47	11	120
Lower middle	16	25	43	16	532
Poor	16	32	31	21	224
Age:					
Up to 24 years	15	26	39	20	110
25 to 34 years	19	28	46	7	164
35 to 44 years	13	28	44	15	167
45 to 54 years	18	27	39	16	194
55 years and over	16	25	36	23	241
Party Preference:					
SPD	19	29	44	8	212
CDU/CSU	16	26	43	15	308
FDP	28	25	44	3	36
Other parties	18	18	39	25	28
No party	14	30	41	15	142
No opinion	12	25	30	33	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	14	22	64	-	14
Businessmen	13	27	51	9	53
White-collar workers	19	31	43	7	133
Skilled laborers	22	27	49	2	108
Semi-skilled laborers	18	26	39	17	95
Farmers; farmhands	13	15	57	15	39
Housewives	12	28	36	24	339
Pensioners; retired	21	25	28	26	76
Students; apprentices	21	11	47	21	19
Origin:					
Natives	15	27	41	17	696
Expellees; refugees	19	25	42	14	180
Religion:					
Catholics	15	27	38	20	400
Protestants	18	27	41	14	453
Others	-	27	55	18	11
No religion	17	17	66	-	12

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	Very good/ Good	Fair	Bad/ Very bad	No opinion	No. case
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	13%	28%	38%	21%...100%	2
2,000 to 19,999	16	23	43	18	26
20,000 to 99,999	19	34	38	9	1
100,000 and over	18	25	42	15	2
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	29	19	42	10	
Lower Saxony	22	29	35	14	1
North Rhine/Westphalia	15	27	45	13	26
Hesse	13	34	40	13	6
Rhineland/Palatinate	15	28	35	22	6
Baden/Wuerttemberg	13	25	38	24	1
Bavaria	13	27	41	19	16

"As you probably know, there has been a lot of discussion lately about a new Summit Conference.

a. If the German Question should not be on the agenda, would you want the Western Powers to reject such a meeting or not?"

	Yes, reject	No, not reject	All the same to me	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany	18%	45%	12%	25%...100%	876
Sex:					
Men	21	60	8	11	358
Women	16	35	15	34	518
Education:					
Elementary school	19	41	13	27	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	19	58	8	15	127
Diploma/university	4	85	4	7	27
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	9	16	34	41	32
150 to 299 DM	23	34	14	29	103
300 to 399 DM	19	42	19	20	145
400 to 499 DM	19	51	6	24	140
500 DM and more	18	54	9	19	303
No answer	15	39	12	34	153
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper middle and well-to-do	16	62	7	15	120
Lower middle	20	47	11	22	532
Poor	16	32	17	35	224
Age:					
Up to 24 years	20	40	20	20	110
25 to 34 years	15	54	13	18	164
35 to 44 years	16	52	8	24	167
45 to 54 years	24	44	6	26	194
55 years and over	16	39	15	30	241
Party Preference:					
SPD	18	55	13	14	212
CDU/CSU	20	49	9	22	308
FDP	22	70	-	8	36
Other parties	18	39	21	22	28
No party	17	41	11	31	142
No opinion	15	22	19	44	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	7	64	7	22	14
Businessmen	25	45	11	19	53
White-collar workers	16	66	7	11	133
Skilled laborers	22	63	8	7	108
Semi-skilled laborers	19	39	13	29	95
Farmers; farmhands	26	38	15	21	39
Housewives	16	36	14	34	339
Pensioners; retired	18	32	14	36	76
Students; apprentices	16	58	16	10	19
Origin:					
Natives	17	45	12	26	696
Expellees; refugees	22	46	12	20	180
Religion:					
Catholics	17	43	13	27	400
Protestants	20	46	11	23	453
Others	18	64	9	9	11
No religion	8	67	8	17	12

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	Yes, reject	No, not reject	All the same to me	No opinion	No. of cases
City Size:					
Up 1,999	19%	40%	15%	26%...100%	226
2,000 to 19,999	19	48	10	23	268
20,000 to 99,999	20	46	11	23	136
100,000 and over	17	46	12	25	246
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	13	56	10	21	77
Lower Saxony	14	45	9	32	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	23	43	12	22	266
Hesse	25	40	9	26	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	11	49	21	19	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	19	52	9	20	122
Bavaria	16	39	15	30	160

"As you probably know, there has been a lot of discussion lately about a new Summit Conference.

b. If the German Question were on the agenda, would you want the Federal Republic to participate if this meant equal participation for the East Zone government, or should they then not participate?"

	Yes, participate	No, not participate	All the same to me	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany	50%	14%	12%	24%...100%	876
Sex:					
Men	61	20	9	10	358
Women	42	11	14	33	518
Education:					
Elementary school	48	13	13	26	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	59	17	8	16	127
Diploma/university	70	26	-	4	27
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	31	-	25	44	32
150 to 299 DM	42	13	15	30	103
300 to 399 DM	55	14	13	18	145
400 to 499 DM	53	15	9	23	140
500 DM and more	56	16	10	18	303
No answer	39	14	15	32	153
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper middle and well-to-do	61	14	12	13	120
Lower middle	52	16	10	22	532
Poor	40	11	17	32	224
Age:					
Up to 24 years	52	12	14	22	110
25 to 34 years	56	16	10	18	164
35 to 44 years	54	14	11	21	167
45 to 54 years	52	16	9	23	194
55 years and over	41	13	15	31	241
Party Preference:					
SPD	59	12	13	16	212
CDU/CSU	50	18	11	21	308
FDP	77	17	-	6	36
Other parties	61	7	14	18	28
No party	48	13	11	28	142
No opinion	29	11	18	42	150
Occupation:					
Professionals	57	29	7	7	14
Businessmen	55	15	15	15	53
White-collar workers	68	15	6	11	133
Skilled laborers	61	24	8	7	108
Semi-skilled laborers	48	10	16	26	95
Farmers; farmhands	54	15	13	18	39
Housewives	42	10	14	34	339
Pensioners; retired	31	18	18	33	76
Students; apprentices	69	16	5	10	19
Origin:					
Natives	49	14	12	25	696
Expellees; refugees	53	16	12	19	180
Religion:					
Catholics	50	12	13	25	400
Protestants	50	16	11	23	453
Others	64	9	18	9	11
No religion	58	17	8	17	12

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Yes, participate	No, not participate	All the same to me	No opinion	No. of cases
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	46%	14%	15%	25% ...100%	226
2,000 to 19,999	54	12	10	24	268
20,000 to 99,999	49	16	13	22	136
100,000 and over	50	17	11	22	246
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	52	22	5	21	77
Lower Saxony	54	10	6	30	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	49	15	14	22	266
Hesse	46	16	16	22	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	48	12	18	22	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	54	14	10	22	122
Bavaria	47	12	16	25	160

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

c. On which one do you think an agreement will most likely be reached?"

German Reunification

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
West Germany	8%	92%...100%	876
Sex:			
Men	8	92	358
Women	8	92	518
Education:			
Elementary school	8	92	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	8	92	127
Diploma/university	-	100	27
Income:			
Up to 149 DM	16	84	32
150 to 299 DM	7	93	103
300 to 399 DM	7	93	145
400 to 499 DM	9	91	140
500 DM and more	8	92	303
No answer	5	95	153
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper middle and well-to-do	6	94	120
Lower middle	8	92	532
Poor	8	92	224
Age:			
Up to 24 years	9	91	110
25 to 34 years	8	92	164
35 to 44 years	9	91	167
45 to 54 years	7	93	194
55 years and over	7	93	241
Party Preference:			
SPD	10	90	212
CDU/CSU	8	92	308
FDP	8	92	36
Other parties	4	96	28
No party	8	92	142
No opinion	4	96	150
Occupation:			
Professionals	-	100	14
Businessmen	6	94	53
White-collar workers	9	91	133
Skilled laborers	9	91	108
Semi-skilled laborers	4	96	95
Farmers; farmhands	3	97	39
Housewives	7	93	339
Pensioners; retired	13	87	76
Students; apprentices	11	89	19
Origin:			
Natives	8	92	696
Expellees; refugees	8	92	180

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
Religion:			
Catholics	10%	90%...100%	400
Protestants	5	95	453
Others	9	91	11
No religion	17	83	12
City Size:			
Up to 1,999	9	91	226
2,000 to 19,999	9	91	268
20,000 to 99,999	4	96	136
100,000 and over	8	92	246
Land:			
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	7	93	77
Lower Saxony	6	94	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	9	91	266
Hesse	3	97	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	3	97	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	6	94	122
Bavaria	12	88	160

"Here are a number of topics which might well be discussed at an international conference. (CARD)

c. On which one do you think an agreement will most likely be reached?"

Disarmament

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
West Germany	13%	87%...100%	876
Sex:			
Men	16	84	358
Women	12	88	518
Education:			
Elementary school	14	86	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	12	88	127
Diploma/university	11	89	27
Income:			
Up to 149 DM	13	87	32
150 to 299 DM	21	79	103
300 to 399 DM	13	87	145
400 to 499 DM	11	89	140
500 DM and more	12	88	303
No answer	14	86	153
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper middle and well-to-do	12	88	120
Lower middle	12	88	532
Poor	16	84	224
Age:			
Up to 24 years	11	89	110
25 to 34 years	16	84	164
35 to 44 years	14	86	167
45 to 54 years	14	86	194
55 years and over	12	88	241
Party Preference:			
SPD	16	84	212
CDU/CSU	14	86	308
FDP	14	86	36
Other parties	7	93	28
No party	10	90	142
No opinion	14	86	150
Occupation:			
Professionals	14	86	14
Businessmen	13	87	53
White-collar workers	12	88	133
Skilled laborers	19	81	108
Semi-skilled laborers	13	87	95
Farmers; farmhands	10	90	39
Housewives	13	87	339
Pensioners; retired	14	86	76
Students; apprentices	11	89	19
Origin:			
Natives	13	87	696
Expellees; refugees	14	86	180

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Selected	Not selected	No. of cases
Religion:			
Catholics	14%	86%	400
Protestants	13	87	453
Others	18	82	11
No religion	8	92	12
City Size:			
Up to 1,999	16	84	226
2,000 to 19,999	15	85	268
20,000 to 99,999	16	84	136
100,000 and over	8	92	246
Land:			
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	17	83	77
Lower Saxony	16	84	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	90	266
Hesse	15	85	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	10	90	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	12	88	122
Bavaria	17	83	160

"Would you be likely to consider such a conference worthwhile if a disarmament agreement of some type were reached while no progress was made toward reunification? (IF 'Worthwhile': Very or somewhat?) (IF 'Not worthwhile': Not particularly or not at all?)"

	Yes		No			
	very worth-while	somewhat worth-while	not particu-larly	not at all	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany	30%	30%	16%	6%	18%...100%	876
Sex:						
Men	36	33	17	8	6	358
Women	26	28	15	4	27	518
Education:						
Elementary school	29	29	16	6	20	722
Secondary school w/o diploma	30	38	13	6	13	127
Diploma/university	59	26	11	-	4	27
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	12	13	19	3	53	32
150 to 299 DM	20	29	23	6	22	103
300 to 399 DM	26	34	14	7	19	145
400 to 499 DM	36	34	13	6	11	140
500 DM and over	33	30	17	6	14	303
No answer	32	28	12	3	25	153
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper middle and well-to-do	43	33	11	3	10	120
Lower middle	30	30	16	6	18	532
Poor	23	27	18	7	25	224
Age:						
Up to 24 years	26	27	17	8	22	110
25 to 34 years	36	31	20	1	12	164
35 to 44 years	31	36	14	5	14	167
45 to 54 years	33	32	12	7	16	194
55 years and over	25	25	17	7	26	241
Party Preference:						
SPD	38	32	18	6	6	212
CDU/CSU	32	33	16	5	14	308
FDP	33	42	14	8	3	36
Other parties	18	39	7	11	25	28
No party	27	27	14	8	24	142
No opinion	17	20	16	4	43	150
Occupation:						
Professionals	50	43	-	7	-	14
Businessmen	38	36	9	8	9	53
White-collar workers	39	34	17	4	6	133
Skilled laborers	35	34	16	9	6	108
Semi-skilled laborers	22	26	23	12	17	95
Farmers; farmhands	31	23	18	8	20	39
Housewives	26	29	13	3	29	339
Pensioners; retired	21	26	20	8	25	76
Students; apprentices	37	16	31	-	16	19
Origin:						
Natives	31	30	15	5	19	696
Expellees; refugees	25	31	20	8	16	180

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	Yes		No			
	very worth-while	somewhat worth-while	not particu-larly	not at all	Don't know	No. of cases
Religion:						
Catholics	28%	31%	17%	6%	18%...100%	400
Protestants	30	30	15	6	19	453
Others	46	9	9	9	27	11
No religion	50	25	-	17	8	12
City Size:						
Up to 1,999	25	28	16	5	26	226
2,000 to 19,999	30	32	16	4	18	268
20,000 to 99,999	38	30	15	4	13	136
100,000 and over	30	30	16	9	15	246
Land:						
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	28	45	12	3	12	77
Lower Saxony	27	26	15	9	23	116
North Rhine/Westphalia	30	27	20	8	15	266
Hesse	26	35	18	3	18	68
Rhineland/Palatinate	36	30	13	-	21	67
Baden/Wuerttemberg	34	24	11	7	24	122
Bavaria	27	32	16	5	20	160

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